1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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stamped out, except in the outlying border regions of the north, where Tibetan tribesmen descend to raid the roads. The work of bandit suppression is undertaken by the army and to some extent by the militia, an organisation for local defence.

The army in Yunnan, officially listed as one of the army corps of the Republic of China, is in fact a local force, commanded by the Governor and officered by Yunnanese appointed by him. Officers of high rank do not serve in their own districts, just as magistrates are not appointed in their own part of the country, but both classes of officials are drawn from the wealthier landowning families and are thus often related to one another. The men are recruited in times of peace by voluntary enlistment, but since the war began, by a system of drafting, by which a family with more than three adult sons could be called on to supply two recruits, a family with two or three adult sons one recruit, and families with one adult son were exempt. Garrisons are established at the larger centres with smaller detachments in each *hsien* city, or at certain strategic points. Ta Li is the Headquarters of a Divisional Command, specially charged with the duty of clearing bandits from the main trade routes to Burma and to the tea district from Tibet. This duty has been performed so thoroughly that from the year 1936 onwards, in spite of the departure of the original garrison for the war front, banditry has disappeared, and one may travel the roads in safety unescorted. It is easy to understand that in a country of lofty wooded mountains with wide stretches of uninhabited forest between the towns the suppression of banditry was not an easy task, and perhaps ruthless methods were inevitable. Arms were licensed, and those found carrying firearms on the roads without a licence were presumed to be bandits, apprehended and executed. There were in fact only a few actual bands, numbering thirty or more men living as out-

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laws, and these could be hunted down by a systematic cordoning of the ranges and passes, More difficult to exterminate were the part time bandits, people who were at one moment farmers cultivating a field, and at the next, when defenceless travellers appeared, armed men barring the road. It is improbable that all who engaged in this sort of crime were detected, but the fate of those who were acted as a deterrent to the others, and with the strict licensing of firearms part time bandits have also diminished or disappeared. At the end of the lunar year, when the New Year Settlement day is approaching, banditry increases, for with a wrong-headed sort of honour people prefer to rob wayfarers rather than lack the means to pay their debts.

The army is in theory a force controlled by the Central Government of China and, in practice, under the orders of the provincial government in K'un Ming, but this does not make it an alien body in the Min Chia districts. Many of the officers, especially the junior ranks and members of the Political Section attached to the Garrison Headquarters, are local people, Min Chia themselves, and a very large number of the men are recruited in the neighbourhood, and are therefore of course Min Chia. Instruction and words of command are given in Chinese, but it is often found necessary to teach new recruits this language before they can understand orders. In recent years the army has also undertaken the task of teaching the soldiers to read, and with the much more extensive recruitment due to the war, it must now be counted one of the main channels of contact by which Chinese civilisation penetrates the mass of the Min Chia peasantry.

The influence of the Civil Law and the Army upon the people, though constant, is not consciously directed by any policy of "sinification", for there is no direct interference with customs and habits non-Chinese in character. On the

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502 their only labour is to steer, or in calms, to punt. They often prefer to travel at night because in summer there is more wind after sundown, and if the wind fails it is tiring to have to do the hard work of punting or rowing in the hot sun. As they work, or sit idly steering the slow-moving boat, they beguile the time by singing improvised words to the one tune which Min Chia peasants always sing to. Time is no object. A trip from Shier Yu, the port of Ta Li, to Wa Shih or Shang Kuan may take four hours or less with a favourable wind, or seventeen hours if there is no wind at all. As they carry a cooking stove and provision of rice they are not dependent on the villages for food, while fish can often be bought from the fishermen on the lake itself.

579 489 The length and slowness of all travel in Yunnan is in fact the explanation of that indifference to time and punctuality which disturbs the foreign visitor. When a journey must in any case take several days, one more or less cannot matter, and as long as the stage point is reached in time for supper, it does not matter when the traveller starts. No Yunnanese would think of starting on a journey unless he allowed for a possible week's delay, through bad weather or—formerly a paramount consideration—delay due to unsafe roads and banditry. When the roads were still infested with robbers it was not uncommon for all travellers to wait in the last town below some dangerous pass until the authorities agreed to provide an escort, or until there were sufficient wealthy travellers assembled to pay for one. My arrival in one such town, some ten years ago, was hailed with delight, since I already had the escort which the local authorities were unwilling to provide for nearly fifty or sixty other travellers and four caravans of forty mules. All these, the next day, got safe and free escort over the pass which was known to be the haunt of a large gang of deserters from the provincial army.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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S 114 484 ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

I. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S ST [184] 771 The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

S ST [1764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oak.

S ST 177 Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

[519] S 631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

Mewu

theft among members of one's own group. Even very primitive peo- 685
ples like the pygmies of the Congo jungle are extremely honest among one another, whereas as soon as they come into contact with farming Negroes, they quickly develop into positively virtuoso thieves. (2) There are probably easy transitions from this stage to

2. Gusinde 13).

the abuse of travelers by the extortionist tourist industry in civilized countries, which is not regarded as criminal any more than the robbing of strangers among primitives.

If a thief is caught and confesses his crime at once, his only punishment consists in his being forced to return or replace the stolen goods, provided the victim of the theft does not belong to the same ts'aowa group. If the thief will not confess his crime, he can be brought before the court of the t'ou-mu and he can be tortured into confession. In this case, too, the punishment is no more severe. If the victim who was robbed belongs to the same ts'aowa group, the thief must pay him back two or three times the value of the goods stolen, just as though he were /81/ a lama, whereas, as mentioned before, a t'ou-mu or an incarnation must be repaid ninefold. (1)

1. Cf. the same conditions among the Bedouins; Musil 14); or wergild in medieval Europe.

Outside their tribal territory all Fantzu tend to rob, especially 685
travelers. However, robberies no longer occur as much among the 579
Mewu-Fantzu as among tribes living farther in the interior of Tibet, where robberies are the order of the day. According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not generally shoot or become violent in a sudden attack if one does not offer resistance. In that respect they would not act differently from Chinese robbers, although this is contrary to the experiences of many travelers. (2)

2. For example, a farmer from the province of Szechuan described such conduct of robbers to me as "polite" (k'e-ch'i), whereas it would be "impolite" in his opinion and contrary to good form if people who did not offer resistance were shot at (this does not mean warning shots), or if they were attacked in any other way.